

(5)

K

# Peace and no Peace: — OR AN ENQUIRY WHETHER

The late CONVENTION with  
SPAIN will be more advan-  
tageous to Great Britain  
than the TREATY of

S E V I L L E.

---

*Nunc certum est, nulli post hæc quicquam credere  
Satis sum deceptus semel.* Plaut. in Captivis.

---

Inscribed to the Merchants of Great-Britain.

---

With a *Postscript* upon the King  
of Spain's Protest, which is  
not printed with the *Convention*.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. CHISSEN at Charing-Cross.

1. 1905. 10. 10. 1905.

Y A P I R A

1905. 10. 10. 1905.  
1905. 10. 10. 1905.  
1905. 10. 10. 1905.

to ITALY



Y A P I R A

1905. 10. 10. 1905.

---

## *Peace and no Peace:*

OR AN

## ENQUIRY, &c.

**I**T was the Opinion of a very learned Author of this Age, that no People in the World are more credulous or apter to fall into the same Errors than the *English*.

In the ordinary Concerns of Life, Men seldom suffer themselves to be deceived twice by those with whom they have any Commerce or Dealings, but we have been amused and plunder'd for many Years, by the *Spaniards*, contrary to the Tenor of several Treaties, and particularly that of

B Seville,

*Seville*, and yet there are some so infatuated as to flatter themselves with mighty Hopes, from the late *Convention*, tho' it will be demonstrated in the following Discourse, that *Spain* is now more formidable than at the Time of signing that Treaty, and that the Trade and Affairs of *Great Britain* are in a more languishing State.

It will be in vain to think of establishing the publick Tranquility till the younger Sons of the Queen of *Spain* are raised to Crowns and Diadems. *Corfica* may perhaps gratify her Wishes for one of them, and some Prince or State must be devoured for the other.

Nothing can give us a more adequate Idea of the Ambition and Designs of that Princes, than the Memorial delivered by the Imperial Ministers to the Maritime Powers,

Powers, during the late War in *Germany* and *Italy*, where after enumerating the many Concessions of the Emperor for preserving the publick Tranquility, we have the following remarkable Words :

" By such signal Marks of Sin-  
 " cerity and Moderation, the  
 " Emperor flattered himself with  
 " having satisfied every Desire of  
 " the Queen of *Spain*, at least  
 " for the present, but it happen-  
 " ed quite otherwise, the Mini-  
 " sters of that Crown employed  
 " themselves in creating fresh  
 " Difficulties, and the more his  
 " *Britannick* Majesty laboured in  
 " employing his good Offices, for  
 " ending all Disputes for the Ad-  
 " vantage of *Don Carlos*, the  
 " more busy were they in taking  
 " Occasion from thence, to insi-  
 " nuate at the Court of *Vienna*,  
 " that the Emperor would find  
 " his Account more in uniting

" with the House of *Bourbon*,  
 " than in the Guaranties of the  
 " Maritime Powers."

'Tis not improbable but the Queen of *Spain* may be so gracious as to think of our Wrongs, if we assist her in gaining new Kingdoms for her Sons, tho' it must be acknowledged, we were but indifferently rewarded for establishing *Don Carlos* in *Italy*, for whilst our Fleet was employed in that memorable Expedition, the *Spanish* Privateers were busy in other Expeditions against our Merchant Ships in *America*, which is a strange Kind of Retribution.

Whether the Original of Negotiations is to be derived from the fallen Angels, according to the Opinion of a celebrated Author of our Times, must be allowed to be an Argument of no small Difficulty ; but from whatever Source they are drawn, 'tis very certain,

no

no People have been less successful in them than the *English*.

Nations, as well as Individuals, are distinguished by their peculiar Talents and Dispositions, some for War, some for Inventions, and others for Trade and Commerce; accordingly, we see all wise Nations in Pursuit of those Objects that are conformable to their Genius and Politicks.

But 'tis with great Regret that I am compell'd to say, we have not observed those salutary Maxims for many Years, having fallen into a new Kind of Commerce that is no way adequate to the Genius of the People, nor perhaps to their Interest.

Negotiating was never the Talent of the *English*, and 'tis a common Saying in the World, *that whatever they gain in the Field, they loose in the Cabinet*; and indeed few of our Treaties have

have escaped publick Censure, and the Ministers have as often been in Danger of losing their Heads.

Since this Trade of Negotiating then, seems to be unequal and disproportion'd to our Genius and Manners, it may be thought a little surprising that it should become the sole Object of all our Cares and all our Application, and especially when we consider they have produced no real Advantages to the Nation, whatever they might do to the Negotiators.

The only Negotiation in our History that was drawn out into an exorbitant Length, was that for the Restitution of the *Palatinat*e in the pacific Reign of King *James* the first, in which, such a Number of Embassadors were employ'd, as gave occasion to a Farce then acted at *Brussells*, where one of the Actors enumerates the Quotas

Quotas of the several Protestant Princes that were then entering into a League against the House of *Austria*. The King of *Denmark*, says he, will send a Hundred Thousand Foot; the King of *Sweden* a Hundred Thousand Horse, and the King of *Great-Britain* a Hundred Thousand Embassadors.

There is, no doubt, but Negotiations are very subservient to the Designs of ambitious Princes and conquering Nations, by leading their Neighbours into a false Security, under the Umbrage of Treaties, whilst they are forming Schemes to extend their Conquests. This was the Practice of *Lewis XI.* who laid the Foundation of the Grandeur of *France*, and passed away most of his Reign in Negotiations. *Richlieu* pursued the same Plan in that of *Lewis XIII.* *Spain* seems now to have the like Views; but what Inducement we  
who

who have no ambitious Views, and are a trading People, can propose by squandering away so much Time and Treasure in Negotiations, is still a Mystery ; we have been in that Train with the *Spaniards* for ten Years, without any Fruit of our Labours.

We have had, with them, in that Period, Treaties of Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Restitution for Injuries, in the strongest and most explicit Terms, which seem'd to be enter'd into with no other View, on their Part, than to plunder with a better Grace and less Danger ; since the Conclusion of a Treaty always supposes a Return of Peace, and consequently disarms the Party offended.

Before we proceed further, it may be proper to exhibit an Extract of those Treaties, which will enable the Reader to judge of the Faith and Probity of the *Spanish* Court,

Court, and whether any subsequent Conventions can promise us more Success.

By the Convention signed at the *Pardo*, 1728, and by the Treaty of *Seville*, in 1729; it is stipulated “ That *Spain* shall forthwith “ cause Reparation to be made for “ the Damages that have been suf- “ fered in *America*, from the Time “ prescribed by the Preliminaries “ for the Cessation of Hostilities, “ and as to what relates to the “ *West-Indies*, from the Time that “ the Notification of them was “ received in those Parts, and that “ his Catholick Majesty shall pub- “ lish the most rigorous Prohi- “ bitions for preventing, for the “ future, the like Violencies. “ And as to Captures and Depre- “ dations before that Time, it is “ agreed, that Commissaries shall “ be nominated, with sufficient “ Powers to examine into the

C “ Com-

" Complaints brought before  
 " them, and to give to the injur'd  
 " Party all just Satisfaction."

One would imagine that these Words did not require any Commentaries ; but it seems the *Spaniards* did not interpret them in the same Sense with us ; since our Merchants have been so far from receiving any Compensation for the Damages receiv'd before that Treaty, that one might imagine the *Spaniards* enter'd into it, with no other View than to continue their Depredations, tho' it is Stipulated, *that the King of Spain should publish the most rigorous Prohibitions for preventing, for the future, the like Violencies* : 'Tis true, Commissaries were appointed, and, if I remember right, they had two Meetings in the Space of six Years, so that we may say of them at least that they proceeded with great Deliberation.

The

The Publick has not been yet favour'd with any Narrative of the Proceedings of those Gentlemen, who had large Sallaries ; but whenever it appears in the World, it will, no doubt, be placed amongst the *Anecdotes* of the present Age.

Whether the new Commissioners to be nominated, pursuant to the late Convention, will be more successful, must be left to the Decision of Time ; but if we compare the present Condition of *Spain* with that in 1729, we have a very gloomy Prospect before us.

*Spain* has, within that Period, conquer'd two of the most fruitful Countries in the World, for one of her Infantas, and seems by her Conduct to keep all her Neighbours in a State of Terror and Alarms : She grumbles at *Portugal*, notwithstanding the strictest Ties of Blood and Alliances : She is angry with *France* ; and the old

Cardinal with all his Finess's has not yet been able to bring the Spanish Court into any Measures: The Emperor's Italian Dominions are not exempted from Menaces, and Tuscany is not free from Danger. The Dutch are bullied, and we are fed with Negotiations, whilst our Merchants are plunder'd, and our whole Commerce to America in a very languishing State.

Whether the intrinsic Force and Power of Spain are not adequate to this angry Mien which they have assumed towards their Neighbours, is difficult to determine; but 'tis very certain we are now in a much worse Condition, to bring them to Terms by Force, than we were in the Year 1729, when we were in the best Understanding with the Houses of Austria and Bourbon, our good Neighbours the Hollanders, and several

several Princes who seem now to be in Pursuit of other Views.

The *Spaniards* are not content with disturbing their Neighbours in the old World, they keep them under perpetual Apprehensions in the New, where they now have a very formidable Fleet; they have lately, and that in a Time of profound Peace, made Attempts upon one of the *Portuguese* Colonies, and those of *England* and *Holland* are compell'd to be at the Expence of maintaining a military Force, to prevent Surprise.

But 'tis not the first Time that the Crown of *Spain* formed Designs of universal Monarchy and disturbing the World.

*Charles V*, and *Philip II*, made great Efforts towards enslaving it. There has lately been published a celebrated Oration on the Ambition of the latter, by M. *Verheiden*. It would seem by the

the Conduct of the Court of *Spain* for many Years, that she is forming Designs of the same pernicious Tendency. *The Low-Countries*, says that great Man, have for twenty Years groaned under the Miseries of War, without breathing. Portugal, O Philip, complains you have by Fraud and Artifice robb'd her of her Prince and her Liberties at once. France is laid waste by the Duke of Guise and his Associates, thro' your Intrigues and Assistance. Poland, that was flourishing and happy, is now weaken'd and oppressed by your Means. England must also be a Witness against you, which the divine Goodness hath lately rescued out of your Hands. In short, all Nations, either publickly or privately, cry out for Vengeance against you for the Sorrows and Miseries they endure.

Such

Such were the mighty Atchievements of the *Spaniards* in the 15th Century, when they were less formidable in Wealth and Armies than at this Time.

The chief Motive that induced me to give this View of the Designs of *Spain*, is to undeceive those who may be credulous enough to depend upon Treaties which, as was observed before, have never had any Weight or Regard with ambitious or conquering Nations.

Tho' 'tis a Truth which I am persuaded will not be contested, that no Country was ever more distinguished for awkward Politicians, than *England*, yet it must be granted, at the same Time, that no Land was ever more fertile in Court Flatterers and Scribblers.

Necessity may indeed be some Plea for unfortunate Persons to write

write false Panegyrics, and Panegyrics for Subsistence ; but to see a Right Reverend Prelate employing his Pen in justifying fallacious Treaties and Measures, is a shameful Practice, unworthy even of a Layman of the lowest Class.

This Right Reverend Drudge gave us a long and labour'd Encomium upon the Treaty of \* Seville, tho' it may be looked upon as the Source of all our present Grievances and Complaints. It answers, says the Right Reverend Scribbler, *all our Purposes, all we could expect from a Treaty, and REMOVES ALL THE GRIEVANCES which we before complain'd of, the whole of which is reducible to these two Points, their Violation of former Treaties, with Respect to Commerce, and with*

\* The Treaty of Seville, and the Measures that have been taken, &c. 1729.

Respect

*Respect to our Possessions, but both  
these Points are now secured, &c.*

How clearly he foresaw the Consequences of that Treaty is pretty well known to our Merchants especially, who may well call it the second *Era* of the *Spanish Depredations*.

It seems the Right Reverend Drudge has no Talent for making any tolerable Conjectures upon future Events ; he is a Priest indeed, but he has not the least Portion of the prophetick Spirit ; he may however be reckoned amongst *Baal's* lying Prophets ; the Truth is, he is so well pleased with the Present, that he is little solicitous about the Future, except it be to deceive the Nation in his political Writings.

In the Year 1732, the Publick was favourid with one of these Pieces, which has a very pompous Title  
*D* indeed ;

indeed; *The natural Probability of a lasting Peace in Europe, &c.*

This contains, as all his Works generally do, the most exorbitant Encomiums upon the Wisdom and Prudence of the present Administration in establishing the publick Tranquility upon a lasting Foundation; for which end, he thought it necessary to Censure or rather Condemn all former Ministries, in order to give the greater Lustre to the present.

*Having thus shewn, says this Scribler, what Prospect Europe had of Peace at those two memorable Events, the Death of King William, and the End of Queen Anne's Reign, we come with better Advantage to consider the Hopes of Tranquility which we have at present; and these I have the just Satisfaction to observe, are built upon much stronger Foundations, than never were laid before this Time*

Time, by any Treaty or Alliance, or by any Concurrence of Incidents within these forty Years past.

Lastly, Let us turn our Eyes to Spain and Italy, the latter settled in Peace, and the former greatly obliged by that very Settlement; a Prince of Spain peaceably introduced into Tuscany with the Consent of all Parties, under the Protection of Great-Britain the States General, and the Emperor. Thus no Disputes remain concerning Italy, whilst at the same time, the Court of Spain is, from this very Settlement of Italy, obliged to live in perfect Friendship with the British and Imperial Courts.

But unluckily for this false Prophet, a cruel War broke out, the very next Year, as well in *Italy* as in *Germany*, and the publick Tranquility is so far from being established, that the Powers of Europe

D 2 were

were never in a more angry or unsettled State.

The Right Reverend Drudge has not for some Years issued any political Lucubrations, except the *Nature of the Sacrament*, which has been justly censured by all orthodox Divines ; but the Reason of this Inaction is, that he has no Thoughts of any further Translations, having now the most profitable Church Preferment in the Kingdom, and 'tis well known that he never employ'd his Pen but when there was something of that Cast in View; for tho' he would persuade the World, that he is warmly attached to the *Protestant Succession*; yet he never wrote one Argument in support of it, in the four last Years of Queen Anne's Reign ; but the Reason is very obvious. There was then no Prospect of Ecclesiastical Promotion.

The

The whole Scope of this Digression is to undecieve the World, by pointing out an abandon'd Divine who has employ'd all his Time and his Pen in shameleſs Flatteries, and in the Defence of the most unwar-rantable Proceedings, for Lucre and Preferment, to which End he has prostituted even the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Were there any Prospects of Moving to another See, 'tis highly probable, we should have ſome Encomiums upon this new *Convention*, which has given leſs con-tent to our Merchants than even the famous Treaty of *Seville*; and 'tis, indeed, pretty extraordinary that the King of *Spain*, who ſup-plies all the World with Silver, ſhould not be in a Condition to discharge ſo inconfiderable a Sum as 95000*l.* in leſs than four Months; if that really be the Case, we have no great Reason to dread the Con-sequences

sequences of a War, with him ; but I am more inclinable to believe, the Scope of that Management, is to give the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of forming some new Pretensions to embarrass the Affair, which is no way surprizing, when we look back upon their usual Chicane and Evasions.

But how trifling is that Sum, when we compare it to the Losses of the Crown and Subjects of *Great Britain*, which have been computed by an ingenious Gentleman, in one of our publick Papers, at no less than fifteen Millions. I own my self, indeed, not to be well skill'd in Calculations, but if this Author's Computation be just, we shall not receive six-pence in the Pound.

It might be well imagined that the Design of this *Convention*, was to put a Period to all future Injuries and Depredations, but there

there are some Words in the second separate Article, that carry a very suspicious Aspect, and seem to portend us no Good, which I have transcribed for the Reader's Satisfaction.

“ And the said Ministers Plenipotentiaries declare by these  
 “ Presents, that the third Article,  
 “ of the Convention sign'd this  
 “ Day, does not extend, nor shall  
 “ be Construed to extend, to any  
 “ Ships or Effects that may have  
 “ been taken, or seized, since the  
 “ 10th Day of December 1737, or  
 “ may be hereafter taken or sei-  
 “ zed.

Hence we may naturally conclude, that we are not yet out of Danger; but as our Plenipotentiaries are Persons of consummate Penetration and Experience in the Art of Negotiating, we have Reason to hope, they will guard us against future

future Evils, and especially against granting the *Spaniards* any Pretext of Searching our Ships, conformable to the Address of the House of Peers, last Session of Parliament ; for the least Concession of that kind, will enable the *Spaniards*, who are very expert in Interpretations, to extend it at Pleasure.

Indeed, we have very little Reason to expect any greater Benefits from our new *Convention*, than from the Treaty of Seville, when we consider, that the *Spaniards* have proceeded with their Depredations, whilst it was negotiating, and that they refused to ratify it till the Meeting of our Parliament ; however, 'tis not improbable, but some Regard may be had to it during the Session, and if our new Plenipotentiaries which, by the by, is a new Character for Persons employed in regulating Commerce, if they, I say,

say, should not be able to finish their Task in the Time limited by the *Convention*, the worst that can fall out is to sign a new *Convention*, for enlarging the Time against next Session, and so on *in secula saeculorum.*

It has been often observed of the *English*, that their Talents are much better adapted for improving than inventing, but I am thoroughly convinced no Nation ever excelled us in the Doctrine of *Expedients*, of which we have had a more plentiful Crop, for some Years past, than in all the precedent Ages; nor can any Thing be more just on that Topick than the Sentiments of the Author of the *Conduct of the Allies* with which I'll conclude this Essay.

" We have hitherto lived upon  
 " Expedients, which in Time,  
 " will destroy any Constitution,  
 " whether civil or natural, and

E        " there

" there was no Country in Christendom had less Occasion for them than ours. We have dittered a healthy Body into a Consumption, by plying it with Physick, instead of Food ; Arts will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the Remains of Nature work, we must inevitably die."

## P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE the Writing of this Treatise, the King of *Spain's* Protest has been published, by which he reserves to himself a Power of suspending the *Affiento Contract*, and declares the *Convention* shall have no Effect, till the *South-Sea Company* shall pay him the Sum of sixty eight thousand Pounds ; so that upon the Whole we have made a very pretty Bargain.

( 32 )

## P O S T S C R I P T.

INCE the Writing of this  
Treatise the King of Spain's  
Policy has been changed  
by which he reserves to himself  
a Power of suspending the Laws  
of any Decree the Com-  
munity may pass on the Egg till  
the same has been given by  
him the sum of its value.  
And though we have a very  
large Bound; the last time  
we paid a fine of 5000 Pounds  
to the King of Spain for  
damaging his Egg.



E 2

A  
B  
C  
D  
E  
F  
G  
H  
I